

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4374

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5257

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: APPLICABILITY TO BERLIN

A. GENEVA 4915B. BONN 10753; C. GENEVA 4980

FOR EUR/RPM

1. FRG AND SOVIETS (WITH GDR AMBASSADOR OBSERVING BUT NOT TAKING PART IN DISCUSSIONS) HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON CLAUSE APPLYING CSCE DECISIONS TO BERLIN. THE FORMULATION WAS RENAMED "EUROPE CLAUSE" AFTER FRENCH REPS OBJECTED TO TERM "ANDORRA CLAUSE", ON THE GROUNDS THAT SUCH A NAME SUGGESTED THAT FRANCE AND SPAIN OTHERWISE WOULD NOT FULFILL THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES IN ANDORRA WHERE CSCE WAS CONCERNED.

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2. FRG-SOVIET AGREEMENT CALLS FOR PLACEMENT OF THE FORMULATION IN THE PARAGRAPH OF THE FINAL ACT (PARA 6) WHICH INTRODUCES THE OPERATIVE TEXTS AGREED IN GENEVA. (REVISED TEXT OF FINAL ACT BEING TRANSMITTED SEPTEL). THE FORMULATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT...GUIDED BY THEIR INTENTION TO PROVIDE
THROUGHOUT EUROPE AND AMONG THEMSELVES, THE OPPORTUNITY
FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF THE BENEFITS OF THE PROCESS OF
DETENTE WHICH HAVE FOUND EXPRESSION IN THE RESULTS OF
THE CONFERENCE...END TEXT.

3. FORMULATION MUST NOW BE INTRODUCED OFFICIALLY IN CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS. FRG EXPECTS TROUBLE WITH SOME NATO ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE DUTCH, WHO HAVE ALREADY SAID THEY RESENT WAY IN WHICH LANGUAGE WAS WORKED OUT PRIVATELY WITH SOVIETS. FRENCH REPS SEEM, HOWEVER, TO HAVE DROPPED RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE FRENCH IN THE BONN GROUP (REF (B). CONVERSELY, SOME OTHER DELEGATES HAVE EXPRESSED POSITIVE INTEREST IN THE FORMULATION BECAUSE THEY HOPE IT WILL EXTEND CSCE COVERAGE TO AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO THEM. MOST STRONG IN THIS REGARD ARE YUGOSLAVS WHO HAVE ALBANIA IN MIND.

4. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE TEXT WORKED OUT WITH THE SOVIETS IS MUCH MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BERLIN THAN THE ORIGINAL VERSION SUGGESTED BY THE FRG (REF A(A), IN THAT IT CONCENTRATES ON THE "BENEFITS OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE" RATHER THAN THE "RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE". THIS PLACES EMPHASIS MORE CLEARLY ON THE PRACTICAL PROVISIONS OF BASKETS II AND III AND MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE EAST TO ARGUE THAT IT ALSO COVERS WESTERN OBLIGATIONS TO APPLY CSCE PRINCIPLES IN BERLIN. PLACEMENT IN PARA 6 OF THE FINAL ACT IS ALSO IN OUR INTEREST SINCE THE MOST LOGICAL ALTERNATIVE PLACEMENT WOULD BE THE DISCLAIMER PARAGRAPH THE PRESENT TEXT OF WHICH, AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, IS THE RESULT OF DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS. WE thus RECOMMEND STRONGLY THAT THE DEPARTMENT APPROVE BOTH THE WORDING AND THE PLACEMENT OF THIS CLAUSE. DALE

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